Workers' Dreadnought

FOR GOING TO THE ROOT.

Vol. XI No. 2. March 29th, 1924. WEEKLY.

WHAT ARE THE INDIAN REFORMS?

By Sylvia Pankhurst.

The so-called Indian Reforms which are now actually set up as a barrier to progress in India, as though they were something sacred, the development of which must not be hindered or altered, are comprised in the Government of India Act, 1919.

COUNCIL OF INDIA.

This Act provides that the Council of India shall consist of between eight and twelve persons appointed by the Secretary of State for India in the British Parliament, the Indian people having no part or lot in their appointment. These twelve persons are to hold office for five years and vacancies are to be filled by appointment of the Secretary of State. The Secretary of State may reappoint any member he chooses for a further five years. The people who formed the existing Council when the Act was passed were not to be displaced by it, but to remain on until they retired for reasons which would have obtained had the Act not been passed.

The members of the Council are paid £1,200 a year, and if they were domiciled in India at the time of their appointment a further £600 a year.

SECRETARY OF STATE VERSUS COUNCIL OF INDIA.

The Secretary of State for India is to be President of the Council, and the Council is to hold its meetings in the United Kingdom. If there is a difference of opinion on the Council of India, the decision of the Secretary of State shall be final. The Council is therefore a subsidiary and mainly advisory body.

IN CASE OF WAR.

If the British Government directs that the British Government forces in India shall commence hostilities, a matter which is placed outside the jurisdiction of the people of India, the matter is to be reported within three months to the British Parliament.

THE REVENUES OF INDIA.

The revenues of India shall be received in the name of his Britannic Majesty, and there shall be charged in such revenues "all the debts of the East India Company" and all expenses, debts and liabilities for the Government of India under the Acts of 1858 and 1919.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND HIS EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

The Governor-General is appointed by the King of England under the advice of his Ministers. The members of the Governor-General's Executive Council are also appointed by the King. They shall be as many as the King chooses to appoint. Three of them must have been 10 years in the service of the Crown in India. One must be a British lawyer. The Commander-in-Chief of the British forces shall rank next on the Executive Council after the Governor-General. The Governor-General shall ostensibly be bound by the majority decision of his Executive, but he may have a second casting vote, and if he thinks the matter one which essentially affects the "safety, tranquillity or interests" of British India, then the Governor-General may on his own responsibility set aside the decision of the majority and adopt, suspend, or reject what measure he pleases, in whole or in part.

If the Governor-General wishes to go to any part of India unaccompanied by his Executive he can do so, and can there exercise alone any powers which might be exercised by the Governor-General in Council. He may act without his Council whenever he wishes. In short, the Executive Council is merely an advisory appendage.

The Governor-General may not commence hostilities or make treaties without the express order of the Secretary of State for India in Britain—the Indian people are given no jurisdiction in this matter.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

Every local government shall obey, not its constituents, but the British-appointed Governor-General. It must "keep him constantly and diligently informed of its proceedings."

PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS AND THEIR EXECUTIVES.

The Governors of the various provinces are appointed by the King of Britain after consulting his Governor-General. The Governor's Executive Council shall not number more than four persons, one of whom must have been twelve years in the service of the Crown in India. The Governor may over-ride the decision of his Executive, just as the Governor-General may.

"BACKWARD TRACTS."

The "reforms" which we are describing to our readers will not appear very advanced to them, but lest they should nevertheless cause any disturbance to the serenity of British rule, it is expressly provided that the Governor-General may declare any part of India a "Backward Tract," to which these beneficent reforms may only be applied in part, or not at all. The Czar of Russia himself might safely have agreed to any reforms granted on such cautious terms.

NEW PROVINCES.

The Governor-General may create new provinces and put them under Lieutenant-Governors, who must have been ten years in the service of the Crown in India. The Governor-General may, with the approval of the Secretary of State, away there in London, take any part of India under the immediate management of his Council, and place over it a Chief Commissioner.

INDIAN LEGISLATURE.

The Indian Legislature shall consist of the Governor-General, the Council of State, and the Legislative Assembly, and the greatest of these in power is the Governor-General.

THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

The Council of State shall consist of not more than 60 members, of whom not more than 20 shall be official members. The Governor-General shall appoint the president.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

The Legislative Assembly shall number 140. Forty of its members shall be non-elected, of whom twenty-six shall be official members. The president is elected by the members and must be approved by the Governor-General—a farcical mode of election!

The Legislative Assembly shall continue for three years, the Council for five years. The Governor-General may, however, reduce these terms by dissolving either chamber, or if he thinks fit, may extend the term. The Governor-General may decide when and where the chambers may meet and may prorogue them at his pleasure.

THE INDIAN FRANCHISE.

The Indian Franchise was left to be determined by rules made under the Government of India Act.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL CAN OVER-RIDE THE LEGISLATURE.

The Governor-General can over-ride the Legislature, as he has done on many recent occasions, by directing that any measure be dropped, or by making law on his own responsibility any measure rejected by the Legislature.

NO DISCUSSION.

The financial proposals of the Governor-General in relation to the following matters shall not be open to discussion by either Chamber, unless such discussion is directed by the Governor-General:—

Interest and sinking fund charge on loans.

Expenditure prescribed by law.

Salaries and pensions of persons appointed by the King and Secretary of State.

Salaries of Chief Commissioners and Judicial Commissioners.

Expenditure classified by the Governor as—

Ecclesiastical.

Political.

Defence.

The Governor-General shall decide whether expenditure does or does not relate to the above heads.

What a farce, indeed, even according to the standards of bourgeois democracy, is a legislature thus held in leading strings!

Even as to other expenditure, should the Legislature refuse it, the Governor-General may nevertheless authorise it, if he sees fit, and he may also authorise expenditure without consulting the Legislature if he considers there is emergency need.

LEGISLATURE v. GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

No measure, financial or otherwise, may be taken by the Legislature without the assent of the Governor-General, but the Governor-General may take any measure he pleases, in spite of, or without consulting the Legislature.

LOCAL LEGISLATURES.

There shall be a Legislative Council in every province consisting of the members of the Executive Council and of other nominated and elected members. Not more than 20 per cent. shall be official members and at least 70 per cent. shall be elected members, but in the central provinces persons nominated to represent Berar by the Governor shall be regarded as though they had been elected by the constituents.

This is an amazing Act of democracy, is it not, dear readers? The Governor of the province is given the same power to override the local Legislature as the Governor-General holds in relation to the national legislature. Similar financial matters are preserved from discussion.

PUBLIC SERVICE AND FINANCE.

The Secretary of State in England appoints an Auditor-General in India, and a public service commission of five persons to act under rules made by the Secretary of State.

The Secretary of State makes rules for admission to the Indian Civil Service. The Governor-General may also make rules for admission to the Civil Service by persons habitually resident in India.

COURTS AND JUDGES.

The Judges of the Indian High Courts are appointed by the King of Britain to hold office during his pleasure. One-third of them must be British barristers, one-third Indian Civil Servants of ten years' standing. The remoinder

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Our View.

SINGAPORE.

It should be made plain that the Singapore decision does not mean the abandonment of a naval base. It simply means that the further extension of an existing base has been stopped. There is nothing epoch-making about this; one must be glad of it, but it is a comparatively small mercy.

* * *

IRELAND.

The mutiny of certain Irish Generals of the Free State Army, and the firing by men in officers' uniforms on British soldiers coming to Queenstown on leave, throw a searchlight on the fact that the so-called Free State is still under control of the Government at Westminster and its Army and Navy. These ugly happenings are certain to continue, we believe, till the fire of Irish nationalism is appeased. As for the rest, a change of system is as necessary in Ireland as in any country—and mere republicanism will not provide that.

* * *

THE LONDON TRAFFIC STRIKE.—

When, as now seems probable, London passenger traffic is virtually brought to a standstill, either the employers must perforce give way, or a very serious state of congestion will result.

Will the Labour Government then intervene? If so, will it do so as the frankly confessed advocate of the workers, to secure for them the full measure of their demands, or will it attempt to play an impartial rôle? Trade Unionism should certainly not be content with impartiality in its cause from a Trade Union Government.

We warn the workers on strike that they are their own best advocates; let them look to themselves and to increasing their strength by combination with other sections of wage workers.

* * *

THE WORKERS' STANDARD.

The Chairman of Messrs. Cammell, Laird and Co. complains that the working-class standard of living in this country is too high, employers cannot make their industries pay, he says, unless the workers' standard is brought down.

If that is true the workers should regard the fact as an urgent challenge to them to end the capitalist system, and substitute for it production for use and plenty for all.

The Doncaster and District Trades and Labour Council has passed the following resotion: "That in the event of a strike by the miners, this Trades and Labour Council pledges itself to use every means in its power to secure an improvement in the miners' standard of life."

AN INTERVIEW WITH JIM LARKIN.

Mr. Larkin, in England for a flying visit, declares that the struggle for power between the Free Statists and Republicans is a most terrible hardship for the unfortunate and helpless population which is made to suffer by it.

Declaring himself an optimist and insisting that the industrial movement with which he is associated will save the world, his summary of the Irish situation was nevertheless most gloomy.

The Free State, he said, is supported by British bayonets and behind them is a murder gang. The firing on British soldiers coming on leave from Spike Island and landing at Queenstown he declared to be the work of members of the Free State Army. He contended that it would be impossible for the Republicans nowadays to carry out such an attack with Lewis guns, in a motor-car, and wearing military uniforms.

He complained that lawless shooting by members of the Free State Army has long been a scandal. They have again and again fired, he said, on harmless meetings of men, women and children in Dublin addressed by Mrs. Despard and Mrs. Maud Gonne, himself and others. Such outrages have not even been rebuked by the Government. Again and again they have taken helpless people from their homes and murdered them without any inquiry being instituted, any attempt being made to punish the offenders, any condemnation being uttered by Government or Church. The relatives of the murdered had received no compensation.

The recent mutiny of Free State Army generals, he said, had been treated in an amazing fashion. They had been allowed to act with surprising impunity and their arrest had been like a pantomime performance, the sequel to which had been the resignation of the general who dared to take that step. Terrorism had been rife at the elections.

The position of the Irish workers is terrible; the military appear against them when they strike, and they are compelled by violence to accept lower wages. American methods of terrorism have been introduced. Unemployment is growing, but the official figures are kept down by arbitrarily striking the workless off the register and denying them the benefits for which they have paid.

The Free State freedom is growing, he said, more and more shadowy; the hand of the British Government, he alleges, is everywhere.

As to the Irish Government, he accuses it both of inepitude and incompetence. Of the Cabinet of seven, only five remain and one of these is too ill to function.

As to the Irish political parties, Mr. Larkin declared that many Republicans have no comprehension of what Republicanism is and are purely anti-British. The farmer party is purely selfish like all farmer parties, he said, and the independents represent moneyed interests. The Labour Party he regards as utterly worthless, and whilst its spokesmen in the Dail are ostensibly in opposition to the Government, they actually support it.

Mr. Larkin predicted that by the summer of this year the officials now controlling the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, which he and James Connolly founded, will be deposed and the Union running on advanced lines.

He looks to intelligent industrial organisation for the salvation of the workers.

Turning to the British situation he pointed out that Irish political prisoners are in custody of the United Kingdom in Peterhead gaol. He called on the Labour Government to remove this disgrace to itself.

IMPORTANT.

You believe in the policy of the "Workers' Dreadnought," and there are many people who think like you who would like to have the paper, only they have not heard of it. Will you help us to bring it to their notice by sending us a donation towards advertising it? We need a minimum of 20s. a week for this.

may be judges in Indian Courts of five years' standing, or High Court pleaders of ten years' standing. No others are admitted. The Secretary of State or the Governor-General may direct that any persons anywhere in India, or any part of India, may be placed within the jurisdiction of any High Court, and he may set up a new High Court within the jurisdiction of an existing one. Apparently this is to guard against intractability by judges of the High Courts or the pressure of local sympathy with accused persons.

An Advocate-General is appointed by the King of England for each Indian province.

THE CHURCH IN INDIA.

The King of England appoints the Church of England Bishops of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. The revenues of India pay for the salaries of these gentlemen and for the upkeep of the Church of England in India. The Church of Scotland also has its chaplains maintained in India from the Indian revenue and the Governor-General, with the approval of the Secretary of State, may grant out of the moneys drawn from India "to any sect, persuasion or community of Christians . . . such sum of money as may be expedient for the purpose of instruction, or for the maintenance of places of worship."

The benefits of the churches which essay to convert the poor Indian from his ancient faith are subsidised by the revenues drawn from the poverty-stricken Indian people.

The terms of the Indian franchise we shall deal with in a subsequent article.

Enough we think has been said to show that the boasted Montagu-Chelmsford reforms have produced nothing, as yet, to be proud of, nothing that a Labour Government need be anxious to preserve.

FROM THE PUBLISHERS.

The Struggle for Power in India, Bernard Houghton, Sunshine Publishing House, Bombay. One-eighth rupees.

Mr. Houghton deals approvingly with the non-co-operation movement, and utters a warning that the movement should not degenerate into mere national capitalism. He explains that only 5 per cent. of the Indian population are enfranchised by the Government of India Act, 1919, which arose out of the Montagu-Chelmsford report, and embodies the reforms of which so much is made in Westminster. Moreover, of the members of the Legislative assembly 20 per cent. are to be officials, and many important subjects are not "transferred" to the Legislative Assembly, but are left under the British Government.

The National Council of Labour Colleges. History, Report, and Directory, 1924. N. C. L., Edinburgh. 3½d., post free.

An Introduction to World History, for Classes and Study Circles. Margaret I. Cole. (Labour Research Department. 6d.) This is a brief historical summary giving advice as to books to read, covering various periods. As to some of the books recommended there will be no question; others which we think valuable are omitted, and some are included which seem quite beneath the notice of the serious student.

COMPETITION.

"Through competition all the profits of production go to capital; the consumer without suspecting the frauds of commerce is fleeced by the speculator, and the condition of the worker is made more and more precarious."—Proudhon.

* * *

"It is just the same for an idea, whether it is persecuted, harassed, beaten down during its beginning, or whether it grows and develops unobstructed. Like the nemesis of the ancients, whom neither prayers nor threats could move, the revolution advances, with sombre and fatal steps, over the flowers cast by its friends, through the blood of its defenders, across the bodies of its enemies."—Proudhon.

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

BOMBAY MILL STRIKE.

In Bombay Mills wages are as follows:—
Men, 35 rupees monthly (a rupee is 1s. 2d.).
Women, 17 rupees monthly.

Mr. Lansbury asked the names of the millowners who have locked out their workers, but the Government could not say.

MR. HORNIMAN.

The Labour Government stands by the deportation of Mr. Horniman for showing too much sympathy with the non-co-operators.

PLENTY OF ROOM AT THE TOP.

135 persons in 1923 and 95 in 1924 had incomes over £100,000 a year. Of 559,685 persons who died in 1922 only 98,902 left anything on which death duties could be charged.

THIEVING ON THE INCREASE.

Cases of burglary in England and Wales in 1921 were 1,359, in 1922 1,451, and in 1923 1,522. Of house-breaking there were 5,733 cases in 1921, 5,989 in 1922 and 6,102 in 1923.

Poverty caused the increase.

RUSSIAN INTERVENTION.

Mr. Neil McLean (Lab.) again asked for an inquiry into the damage inflicted on Russian by foreign intervention and the part played by the British Government. Mr. MacDonald replied that it was unnecessary.

ARMY ESTIMATES.

On the motion to maintain 161,600 land forces Mr. Ayles (Lab.) moved to reduce the vote by 150,000 men. Mr. Thurtle (Lab.) seconded. The motion was supported by Mr. Lansbury and Mr. Scrymgeour, the Prohibitionist, who is consistently downright in whatever he makes up his mind upon it appears. Col. John Ward, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Stamford (Lab.), Dr. Haden Guest (Lab.), and Mr. Lawson (Lab.), Financial Secretary to the War Office, opposed the amendment. Mr. Lawson said that the Labour Party Conference last year declared by 3,000,000 to 800,000 votes that it would be prepared to vote Army, Navy and Air Force Estimates. Mr. Thurtle said the motion to oppose all Service votes was supported by the present Under-Secretary of State for War. Mr. Lawson declared there are innumerable instances of brotherly love in war. He said that the Labour Government was adopting the proper course in taking steps to call an International Conference on disarmament.

Mr. Lansbury (Lab.) declared that war is futile, for it achieves nothing. He wrongly said that the British Government conquered Egypt and now has given back to Egypt independence. The independence of Egypt is, of course, a very flimsy pretence! He also said the Sudan had been conquered and given back to Egypt. Members cried "No," but Mr. Lansbury persisted. Again he was wrong, for the Sudan is of course securely held under the heel of the British Government. Mr. Lansbury went on to say a very deplorable thing:

"I think our country is the one which should lead the way. We are, I think, more capable and more intelligent than most other nations of the world."

That is the sort of expression of national conceit which is really harmful.

Mr. Lansbury proceeded to argue that force is no remedy, and he would like the British to lead the way in disarmament. "It is true," he said, "that I might be destoryed because there was no policemen, but no one proves that I am wrong or that what I advocate is wrong by killing me."

Mr. Lansbury must have come to the conclusion about the policemen since the baton charges on the Poplar unemployed!

Mr. Maxton (Lab.) said the mandate of the Labour Government to argue for disarmament amongst the nations is being steadily destroyed by Army, Navy and Air Estimates, which would set up a fear in other nations that the new British Government is as anxious to maintain and extend the policy of British Imperialism and conquest as any of its predecessors.

He believed that the people should fight the landlords at home not the people abroad. He could not ask the workers to find £45,000,000 to protect a country which is not theirs.

POISON GAS.

£80,000 was spent on experimenting with poison gas last year, and a similar sum has been set apart by the Labour Government for the same purpose this year. Cats, guinea pigs, goats, mice, monkeys, rabbits and rats were used for experimenting with since April 1, 1923, 689 animals being used, of which 618 have been killed or destroyed. The British Government were signatories to the Washington resolution of 1922 condemning poison gas.

CHINESE SPINNING MILLS.

In 1915 there were 1,000,000 spindles in China. There are now 3,525,271, of which 263,112 are British, 1,174,412 Japanese and 2,087,747 Chinese.

NAVY ESTIMATES.

Mr. Ammon (Parliamentary Secretary to the Admiralty) said that a larger number of boys will be under training for the Navy in 1924-25 than were provided for in the Estimates of 1923-1924. A Naval Review, he said, is to be held in conjunction with the British Empire Exhibition, and some of the smaller craft may be brought up the Thames. Mr. Ammon, like the other Labour Ministers, seems to take a keen interest in naval matters.

The two destroyers which the Government is building, Mr. Ammon said, are needed in order that they may be tried before a large replacement programme is undertaken.

As to the five cruisers, Mr. Ammon said the Government had placed naval efficiency first, though it was grateful some measure of unemployment would be relieved by the building of the cruisers.

THE PRIME MINISTER ON CO-ORDINATING DEFENCE FORCES.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald said:

"I should like to say straight away that nobody who ever occupied my position could have held it with any sort of an inquiring mind for six weeks without seeing how, if a Government or a head of a Government had the opportunity, one of the finest services that could be done to this country was to co-ordinate the defence forces of the country. We want them co-ordinated, in finance, in policy, in strategy, and I do not know, perhaps, how it is to be done. If a Government had the luxurious prospect of five years in office, and if I happened to be the head of that Government, I should certainly say that one of the very first steps to be taken by the responsible service authorities was to set about the discovery, the devising of a scheme by which that co-ordination could take place."

SINGAPORE.

Mr. MacDonald continued:

"The fact of the matter is that Singapore at the present moment is a very efficient dockyard, and the proposal that was made was not to create a dockyard there, but to extend it in order to enable it to fulfil certain new functions. That is all the point at issue."

As Mr. Ammon had said, the Labour Government is spending £12,500 on the Naval Base this year "to clear up work that is left."

Mr. MacDonald added that "if we were driven to create a great fleet in the Pacific for Imperial defence the strategical position of Singapore is second to none." Moreover, the Dominion Governments were in favour of it, but in view of his letter to M. Poincaré and the efforts of the British Government to secure an international agreement to limit armaments, the Labour Government had decided not to extend the docks. Mr. MacDonald seemed to indicate that he would say to France, "I come to make an agreement with you, and if I cannot get it I will have to go on developing my base." One felt that the Singapore base development is only temporarily postponed.

THE CRUISER AMENDMENT.

The amendment condemning the building of the five cruisers, which was moved by some of the Liberals, received some Labour Party support. Those once loudly professing pacifists, C. G. Ammon, Major Atlee, Margaret Bondfield, Captain Guest, Morgan Jones, Susan Lawrence, W. Leach, J. E. Mills, Arthur Ponsonby, Philip Snowden, C. P. Trevelyan, J. Wheatley and Neil Maclean voted with the Government, and, of course, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who used to be thought a pacifist, voted with the Government. We were surprised to note that Mr. Pethick Lawrence supported the Government on this, which must have gone greatly against the grain with him. We had thought he was not a party man.

Amongst the Labourists who resisted the Party whip was Miss Jewson, the only women M.P., we think, who has shown that much independence of party leading.

BRITISH EMPIRE EXHIBITION.

£118,000 was asked to meet Government expenditure in connection with the British Empire Exhibition and the Pageant of Empire the Government is organising. Mr. Lunn, for the Labour Government, said it is prepared to carry on what was started by its predecessors in this direction. The show will therefore go forward.

Mr. Ben Tillett (Lab.) declared that he had been on the Management Committee of the Exhibition, and there had been corruption and mismanagement. Mr. J. H. Thomas, the Colonial Secretary, who had also been on the Committee, agreed that that was true, but it would not do to boggle at this stage, seeing that £12,000,000 had been spent. Mr. Thomas admitted that £100,000 did not cover the full extent of Government liability.

GRANT TO NORTHERN IRELAND.

£943,336 was proposed for Northern Ireland to pay compensation for damage arising from the disturbed condition in Ireland. Mr. Harbison said this was in addition to £1,700,000 granted for this purpose and maintaining order in Northern Ireland. He declared it to be a waste of money. 50,000 to 60,000 armed men, he said, are kept up in a country now absolutely crimeless, in order to prevent the Free State Treaty being implemented. Mr. Cahir Healy, until lately interned in Northern Ireland, the Deputy Chairman, and several Members of Parliament heckled these two Irish Nationalists to prevent them bringing out the facts in regard to the pogroms perpetrated by the armed forces of the Northern Ireland Government.

The Deputy Chairman declared that, according to the Speaker's ruling, the Government of Northern Ireland may not be criticised. Yet Parliament is asked to vote subsidies to that Government. The situation is grotesque in the extreme. Three hundred and twenty men are imprisoned without trial in Northern Ireland, and part of the vote in question was to pay for their detention, yet the detention could not be criticised!

A motion to reduce the vote was supported by some Liberals and some of the Glasgow Labour members.

* * *

SPICE.

Question: "Is it not time we should demand full wages for all compensation men whether totally or partially disabled?"—A miner writing in the "Workers' Weekly."

Answer: "Is it not time we should cease to preach palliatives and work whole-heartedly for the abolition of capitalism and wage slavery and the coming of plenty for all."

ANOTHER ECHO.

"Well, comrade, we must put up a good fight for more wages in the mining industry."—A Miner in the "Workers' Weekly."

* * *

THE SAME REPLY.

This is what you have been doing ever since the wage system began: when will you work for the end of the wage system?

* * *

A COKE STRIKE.

The workers in one Port Glasgow shipyard struck work for better coke. "Stick it, boys, you are winning," says a writer in the "Workers' Weekly"; but we ask: "When will the workers organise their own industries?"

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HERMAN GORTER.

Even before the war I have laid down the premises on which the contentions in these articles are based, in many articles and in resolutions in which my signature is to be found with others. At that time there was no question of revolution in India and Asia, but it is now necessary to say that even in such countries the proletarian movement cannot join hands with the nationalist one and must by no means subject itself to it.

Lenin and the Third International have talked the proletariat into a combination with the capitalist nationalism of Asia. My reply is that we have never supported European capitalism. We have urged the rising of India against European capitalism; but you of the Third International support the rising capitalism of Asia; you urge the subjection of the Asiatic proletariat to their native capitalism. There is no wonder that you do it; for peasant-capitalist Russia desires also a capitalist Asia.

In China and India these tactics have turned the proletarians into the enemies of the revolution and one reflects now that China and Siberia also follow the tactics of Moscow, and one may confidently say that the entire proletariat of Asia.

THE WORLD PROLETARIAT.

One now reflects that the proletariat of the world; that is to say, of Europe, America, Australia, Africa and Asia is guided either by the Second or Third International. It is unnecessary to prove that the Second International is counter-revolutionary, and I have shown in these articles that the Third International is also counter-revolutionary. One may therefore safely say that the entire world proletariat has been turned against Communism.

ALL CLASSES IN ALL CAPITALIST NATIONS.

All classes in all capitalist States are enemies of world revolution. The Third International has not explained this to the workers.

Many false principles have penetrated from Moscow to Western Europe and North America. This has been largely done through Lenin's book called "The Infantile Diseases of Left Wing Communism." See the ideas expressed in that book on Asquith and Lloyd George and on the splits in the bourgeois classes and parties in the capitalist States, of which, he declares, Communists may make use. Lenin contends there that Communists may take advantage of the differences between Monarchists and Republicans, democrats and reactionaries.

This has proved quite untrue. Against Communism all bourgeois parties in all countries, including the Social-Democrats and Independents of Germany, the Labour Party and I.L.P. of Britain, have formed an absolutely firm and united front.

Faith in such tactics has injured the cause of the proletariat, because, in Germany, for instance, instead of fighting both equally, it stood for the bourgeois republic against monarchy in the case of the Kapp Putsch, and in the cases of the murder of Rathenau.

Communism is absolutely opposed to capitalism in principle and practice. In the revolution from capitalism to Communism there is not a single economic or political action on which capitalists and Communists agree. To make use of the split between bourgeois parties is to attach oneself to one of them and to combine with it. Such tactics are utterly bad, for the bourgeois parties will at the decisive moment turn against the Communists and the result will be a terrible defeat for them or the total corruption of the Communist Party.

The same may be said of the much-vaunted hope of support for the Communists from the peasants and middle classes. The Russian C.P. has counted on these in Europe also and shaped its tactics accordingly. Yet, although the difficult conditions which the Bolsheviks calculated would bring these classes over to the Communist revolution in many countries, these classes have not been won over.

Real revolutionaries know, nevertheless, that the victory of the proletariat is sure in the end. Sections of the bourgeois classes will eventually come over, but it is essential not to count upon their doing so in the beginning.

Even these tactics of combining with peasant bourgeois parties arose out of the peasant capitalist character of the Russian revolution, and the European workers only accepted them because they were still bourgeois in their opinions.

The Russians, because they were bourgeois revolutionists, wanted a compromise to be made in Western Europe. They feared a really proletarian revolution, and therefore they advised the Communists to compromise.

A genuine proletarian revolution will stand on its own feet and will oppose equally Democrats, Social-Democrats, Monarchists and Republicans.

(To be continued.)

SOUTH AFRICAN NEWS.

A deputation of the Communist Party interviewed Mrs. Sarvjini Naidu, the well-known India leader, who has just come here from Kenya.

"What precisely is your grievance?" asked comrade Sydney Bunting (Secretary-Editor of "The International").

"Our grievance," said Mrs. Naidu, "is the system of bureaucracy that obtained in India, and that we are against. There is no question of colour in India. It is the system of bureaucracy to which we are opposed. We do not care who is in the Government so long as the present system of government is abolished. India is open to the whole world, and colour, class and creed merit no distinction." Then comrade Bunting referred to the results of the economic and capitalist system. "You do not seem to understand," Mrs. Naidu told comrade Bunting, "that you cannot possibly draw an analogy betwen conditions in India and Europe, because they are entirely and vastly different. You have to take India by itself, and I want you to understand that when India is self-governing there will be no hostile Labour element there. There certainly will be a Labour Party, but it will not be hostile. Industrialism, in the sense of Communist understanding, can never be widespread, because 90 per cent. of the Indian population is agricultural.

"When the supplementary cottage industries materialise there will be less and less temptation for the people to drift from the villages to the towns. Capital and labour will not quarrel, and the few, or handful of capitalists who exploit according to the Western methods will very soon be put in their proper places. That is outside India." Nationalisation and industrialisation are two great evils of the world to-day," Mrs. Naidu added. "Nationalism," she continued, "is a symptom of a disease that requires healing. It is very acute in India, and consequently requires all the more careful treatment."

When comrade Bunting referred to wages. Mrs. Naidu inquired: "If I pay a man an honest wage for his labour, an adequate wage, do you seriously say that I am exploiting him?"

"Yes," said comrade Bunting.

"How extraordinary! Then you people as Communists really prostitute yourselves by going to the master who exploits you. Why, you are really the greatest sinners of all," replied Mrs. Naidu.

"Of course, it is the system under which we live that is to blame, but as I have said, it is all capitalistic exploitation," said comrade Bunting.

"That term is surely a grave misuse of the English or any other language," replied Mrs. Naidu.

Comrade Bunting intimated that the deputation would again interview her when she returned to Johannesburg.

ISAAC VERMONT.

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PRICE TWOPENCE

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THE NEED FOR THE WORKSHOP COUNCILS.

The London tram and bus strike proves again the need for the workers' councils. Bus and tram men have shown a solidarity rare in these days, though it is essential that it should be the rule amongst workers.

The tram and bus men have made common cause and come out together, but they have not paralysed London's traffic, because the tube men have gone on working.

The tube men belong to two unions. The A.S.L.E. & F., after days of inaction, have decided to come out in support of their fellow workers in the transport industry.

The N.U.R., the Union of Messrs. Thomas and Camp, stands aloof and will play the part of blackleg to its trade union colleagues.

Fellow workers, regard the situation as intelligent men and women: We ask you is that the way to conduct your class struggle with the employers?

If you had the workshop councils, you would have the combined transport council for all London, and when there happened to be a transport struggle such as this you would all come out together, and you would be strong enough to bring matters to such a head that either your demands must be agreed to, or a very serious state of things would develop in which the class struggle would emerge in an acute form.

Then would come the supreme test of working-class solidarity and desire for another system.

If the workshop councils were in being throughout the country; all prepared to rally to the section which was fighting the immediate struggle; all prepared to unite in a programme for a better system, something would be doing, fellow workers; the power of the producing class would at last be mustered in an effective way.

Ponder these questions fellow worker: consider them well. Ask yourself seriously, fellow worker, whether the wage system, which produces both the terrible hunger battle of the strike and the deadening menace of unemployment, is really worth preserving?

THE SEARCHLIGHT.

A PLEA FOR THE UNEMPLOYED AND EMPLOYED.

BY SRIBES COMMITTEE.

We want to ask the men to consider what is happening to their children.

Think of the boys who left school at any time during the last few years, and think what a wretched start they have had in life. They have had no education, no work, no aim in life to keep them steady. They have not even had any reasonable amusement, for there is hardly anything within their reach except an occasional visit to the pictures, or putting sixpence on a horse.

They have been left, in the most important and formative years of life to stand about the streets. They have had no chance to learn a trade, and when work comes, these young people will only be fit for the lowest and worst paid jobs. Can anyone imagine anything worse for a lad of seventeen or eighteen than this hopeless drifting, and anything worse for a man than to know that his son has been given such a bad start in life? It is necessary not only for the men to get into the UNEMPLOYED WORKERS' ORGANISATION, but to see that their sons and daughters do so as well, so that we can do all we can to alter the system we live under.

BOW BRANCH.

Propaganda Meetings, Bromley Public Hall, Mondays, 2.30 p.m.

Business Meetings, Wednesdays, 2.30 p.m.

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